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A SACRED CALENDAR OF ELEUSIS

STERLING DOW
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ROBERT F. HEALEY, S.J.
BOSTON COLLEGE

CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
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TEXT

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Note. The Ephor of Attika, N. Platon, kindly facilitated two visits by several of us to Eleusis. For help at Eleusis, the authors are grateful to the staff of the Museum, and to D. H. Gill, S.J., P. L. MacKendrick, C. S. Urdahl and L. B. Urdahl.

Abbreviations are those of the American Journal of Archaeology, 62 (1958), 3–8, now also 69 (1965), 201–06; and the following:

F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées (1962) = Lois sacrées des cités grecques (Paris 1962).

The photographs are of the reverse side of the squeezes, i.e. the side next the stone. This side of the squeezes — the only side ever used — gives a mirror image of the stone. In printing, the photographs of the (reverse side of the) squeezes have themselves been reversed, so that the photographs as printed show the inscriptions as they appear on the stone. The Greek text and the translation are printed from xerox copies of originals in pencil.

Inscribed Sacred Calendars. In the study of Greek religion, literature (i.e. "the authors") and inscriptions are complementary but unequal. Far more extensive, and its texts known much longer, literature provides insight into the worshippers' ideas and feelings. Inscriptions, which tell in more exact detail what actually went on, are less familiar, and among inscriptions, sacred calendars are perhaps known least of all. Certainly the calendars have little or no immediate emotional appeal; they are piety in catalogue form. But the sacred calendars do have the virtues of nearly all inscriptions: they are contemporaneous, factual, precise; non-tendentious, free of subjective elements; and, if once the readings can be established (sometimes, as often in the present instance, a difficult matter), wholly reliable. Moreover, being lists, they are packed with substance, there is hardly a dispensable word.

But the sacred calendars have significance, because cult itself in Greece has significance, beyond mere sacrifices. Like nearly everything else, the cults are intimately bound up with the life of the polis. The sacred calendars are one of the most stable, least readily changed, parts of its life. They reflect the past as well as the present; and they were intended to serve for the future indefinitely. The prices entered in them (a valuable series of prices) clearly were thought of, in the period before Alexander — Classically happy days! — as virtually stationary forever.

In recent years many new Athenian calendars of sacrifices have come to light. The older ones were in Leges Graecorum sacrae, Vol. I, Fasti sacri, ed. I. von Prott (1896); Vol. II, Leges Graeciae et insularum, ed. L. Ziehen (1906). The remaining large area is covered by F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure (1955), reviewed by M. N. Tod, Gnomon 1956.455–461. All three collections are supplemented by Sokolowski's inclusive Lois sacrées des cités grecques: Supplement (1962), reviewed by A. M. Woodward, Gnomon 1963.796–799. The increase of inscriptions is shown by the fact that the latter volume contains no fewer that 133 titles in all, of which nos. 1–21 are from

Attika, nos. 124–127 are Addenda from Attika, and No. 132, an Addendum novissimum, is also from Attika (Teithras). Two years later G. Daux published with a copious apparatus and with lucid discussion the important, near-complete 325-line Calendar of Erkhia, *BCH* 1963 (pub. early 1964), 603–634. E. Vanderpool has located the Deme Erkhia, M. H. Jameson has studied several of the deities, G. Dunst has found out about Leukaspis, F. Salviat has clarified the Theogamia, and S. Dow has written on "The Greater Demarkhia": all these articles are in BCH 1964 and 1965.

The Sacred Calendar of Eleusis, IG II² 1363.

Unlike these others, the present inscription is not new or unknown, nor is it well preserved. It consists of two fragments, long known, battered, in parts difficult to read. Previous studies, both of text and of content, though brief, have erred often. As everyone knows who has contended with such recalcitrant documents, at every stage much depends on whatever knowledge can be brought to bear from other documents. But epigraphical technique in a narrow sense is often of decisive importance, and we have tried to utilize fully the devices of modern epigraphy: two sets of squeezes made by ourselves (and not by hired labor), all doubly thick, with photographs of them; raking light; careful study of the better-preserved letters, and calculation of the lengths of lacunae as close as circumstances warrant. The readings even so were often laborious, but at length one detail after another has clarified itself, and happily many aspects of the festivals have assumed character and intelligibility.

The first sections are intended to provide a palaeographical basis. The Commentary on Festivals contains the reasoning and the results.

Description. When last examined by us, in August 1963, the fragments were in the epigraphical storeroom at Eleusis, on the second shelf over the bay farthest from the door. The two fragments have the inventory numbers 364 and 365 respectively; the numbers are not on the stones. The provenience is not recorded. A. N. Skias reported the marble as white; it is now darkened by

the impurities in factory smoke, which constantly rain down on the Eleusis inscriptions; but traces still show of gray and pale orange hues. Each of the two fragments preserves part of the left side; otherwise they are both fractured, including the backs, which look broken, but may be original.

Frag. A: height 0.20 m.; width 0.245 m.; thickness 0.077 m.

Frag. B: height 0.085 m.; width 0.260 m.; thickness 0.080 m.

The lettering is small, not very careful; it is worn and in parts difficult. Kirchner's date was *init. s. III a. (?)*, doubtless merely an impression. Certainly the lettering is by a professional mason, but it is second-rate. Lettering of this general sort is found over many decades, *fin. s. IV* and *init. s. III a.* Three times -ει is written for -ηι (lines 3, 8, 17); and note πένπτει (line 3). A date as early as ca. 330 B.C. is probably not excluded. On the other hand, the complete absence of interpuncts, paragraphai, *and* of -ο for -ου, all of which are abundant in the new Erkhian Calendar, favor a date for the present Eleusinian Calendar somewhat later than 330.

Ten lines plus ten inter-lines occupy 0.099 m. The individual letters are 0.005 m. high.

A thickness of ca. 0.08 m. would call for a width of ca. 0.36 m., supposing that the proportions are normal; and this would agree with two columns, each ca. 0.18 m. wide. The actual width of Col. I, viz. the space between the preserved left side and Col. II, is close to 0.20 m. This is on Frag. A. On Frag. B, none of Col. II is preserved, but instead, the surface is preserved and is blank, in an area 0.18–0.23 m. from the (preserved) left edge. Thus Frag. A should precede Frag. B, and Col. II was evidently concluded at some point between Frag. A and Frag. B.

The present back is not certainly original; *if* it is not, the stele *may* have been thicker, and wider, and the inscription may have been three-columned. But the facts stated *supra* indicate that it was two-columned. Even if, however, it was two-columned, the letters are small enough to suggest that the text was of some length, possibly well over 100 lines to a column, i.e. five times as tall as Frag. A.

The lowest preserved line, 27 in the new numbering *infra*, is

much longer than any of the others: whereas the letters in the other lines never extend over a space of more than 0.145 m. (in Frag. A), or 0.157 m. (in Frag. B), the letters of line 27 occupied ca. 0.235 m. Moreover the end of the line is not cut on an even horizontal, but curves decidedly upward. This is a curious feature, for which we cannot cite a parallel among formal extensive inscriptions. Two explanations suggest themselves: either the surface prepared for the text was not finished evenly, so that a rough spot had to be avoided; or the mason became careless. In either case, it would seem likely that line 27 was the lowest on the stele. Or again, consider the mere length of the line: its length indicates that there was no more inscribable space below: hence it *had* to be long. Moreover, the commentary *infra* will show that in any case its content makes line 27 a last line of a panel.

Bibliography. A. N. Skias published both fragments in Arkh Eph 1895.97–100 no. 12, with majuscule transcription and miniscule text. The letters being small and difficult to read, Skias' text is creditable. His transcription was sufficiently good so that with no other aid W. Dittenberger, SIG^2 II (1900) 628, was able to make several improvements in the text. Dittenberger dated it *fin. s. IV aut init. s. III a.* In Arkh Eph 1902. 141, A. Wilhelm improved line 23. P. Foucart, Les grands mystères d'Eleusis (Memoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres 37 [1904] 37–38), and later in Les mystères d'Eleusis (1914), 182 and n.2, 215–220, examined a squeeze of Frag. A — he says nothing of B — and conjectured the correct reading of line 16; but he used the text as a whole only to assist in dealing with some of the officials. H. G. Pringsheim, Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults (1905) 107–108, did not advance the text, but (J. v. Prott —) L. Ziehen, Leges graecorum sacrae II.1 (1906) no. 6, produced a text slightly better than his predecessors'; it was based, however, like the others, on Skias' transcript. J. Kirchner, IG II^2 (1916) no. 1363, was the first editor, and the only, after Skias to study both squeezes. His improvements were meager, notably σπονδ[άς] in line 18; by inadvertence he dropped out the τόν in the last line. F. Hiller

v. Gaertringen, in SIG[3] (1920) no. 1038, suggested [*βωμὸν*] *στ*[*ο*]*λ*[*ί*]*σας* for line 25, but apparently he had not seen the inscription itself. In more recent works on Greek religion, notably in L. Deubner's Attische Feste, and in an extensive article by O. Rubensohn "Das Weihehaus von Eleusis und sein Allerheiligstes," JdI 70 (1955) 1–49, there are occasional references which are not concerned with strictly textual problems; these will be dealt with in the commentary. A general mention will be found in M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der gr. Religion (Müller Handbuch), II[2] p. 91 n. 3. Along with others that also give information about payments for services and extras at sacrifices, the present inscription is cited in an excellent article by F. Sokolowski: TAPA 1959. 253 n. 3.

It is clear that until now no one since Skias has actually examined the stones. Moreover good squeezes of these small-lettered small stones are not easy to make, and his readings show that Kirchner had no very good ones. It is not surprising therefore that, as in most such cases, the text, although it had been appreciably improved in a few lines by the successive editors, was still defective.

We were able to examine the fragments at Eleusis in the summer of 1963; of our two sets of squeezes, one was made ca. 1933 and one in 1963. Where so many readings are so difficult, it has seemed best to provide photographs of both.

Several letters, formerly bracketed, can be detected, of which the traces are slight. A few others, formerly printed as certain, need dots or brackets. In the following commentary, new readings are mentioned only when important.

Line 1. Traces of letters, hitherto not recorded, are visible. All are vague; some are nearer line 2 than they ought to be, i.e. they may be spurious. There is enough, however, to prove that the space was not blank (cf. *infra*): the line was inscribed to a length as great that of line 2, or longer.

Line 2. The first nu is perfectly clear. Before it, a vertical stroke, close enough so that probably, but not certainly, the letter can only be iota, not upsilon. Before that, in turn, 3½ letters are missing, or, doubtfully, four (if one letter of the four is quite narrow). Of these the last letter missing, viz. the one next the half-preserved iota, might be omicron (or theta); if it were epsilon (for an infinitive), the lowest bar ought to show, but definitely does not; and the first letter missing (or second, if the first was iota) preserves the lower tip of a vertical or slanting upright stroke. The first letter is partly preserved.

Line 5. The margin and first spaces are confused, apparently, by false strokes, but the preposition need not be doubted.

Line 7. The surface before the first numeral is destroyed, but the amount preserved, 1½ drakhmai, is doubtless the whole (*infra*).

Line 9. In the area of the second alpha, the surface seems to be preserved, and apparently only the left hasta was inscribed.

Line 10. In the final word, Pringsheim felt uncertain about the middle letters, but actually both nus are clear. Between

them, there is space for a letter and a half, and in fact part of the iota is visible: it is indubitable.

Line 14. The erasure was made, differently from all other erasures known to us, by oblique strokes of the chisel, probably because the chisel was too long for use in a true vertical position. The erasure begins at the margin, i.e. no numeral was erased. In the first place, there appears to survive the lower end of a letter placed as if it were e.g. a tau or iota. This indicates, if proof were needed, that the line was once inscribed. The erasure extends at least as far as the first epsilon of the last word in line 13; whether the erasure fades out there, or extends a space or two more, cannot be determined. In the area of the erasure no other stroke of a letter can be made out.

Line 16. Foucart conjectured [ἐξ] Ἐλευσῖν[ος] but all other editors have [ἐν] Ἐλ[ε]υσῖν[ι]. The first epsilon however is clear, and also both top and bottom of xi.

Line 19. The kappa is fairly clear, and the penultimate letter is clearly tau unless, its bottom being cut away, it was zeta. After the kappa, an alpha only vaguely suggests itself, then possibly the upright of iota or tau. If iota, an alpha or omega may follow, then a doubtful half-space (i.e. iota), and the penultimate tau mentioned above: KAIATO or KAIΩITT; or again, KAT[½ ᵒʳ ⌐ ¹]T. The final letter is baffling; perhaps a poor omicron, or upsilon.

Line 20. No letter is visible, despite the fact that a small area of the surface is preserved. It is likely, though no positive trace can be detected, that a line was inscribed, and like line 14, lightly erased; i.e. erased as line 14 was erased, so that the deeper part of the erasure was at the bottom, where the surface of line 20 is broken away. The (probable) erasure of line 20 extended into the margin, scil. to remove a numeral.

Lines 22–25. The margin was not kept even, but this is not significant.

Line 23. Through mere carelessness, the first of the two definite articles has not been read before; both letters are clear.

Line 25. The first letter shows a right angle, as if for the upper part of an epsilon. The horizontal stroke is continued downward by a curved mark, but this curve is definitely thinner than the horizontal stroke, and is probably accidental. The letter is therefore Γ or E. After it, to judge by the line above, which is just as closely spaced, there is room for three letters; insufficient for Hiller's [*βωμόν*]. Then a doubtful Ṣ (or Ḛ?) and Ṭ, followed by space enough only for iota; a fairly sure Ạ, Δ, or Ḥ; a half-space apparently empty; and ΣΑΣ. At the end of the line the space is blank (Kirchner is misleading in IG II² 1363): [*φόροιν*] must have been inscribed in the next line.

Line 26. The wide spacing of the preserved letters shows clearly that this was the end of part (at least) of an entry. The letter before KANOTN, read hitherto as upsilon, apparently was iota; of Ṇ, the only other letter to consider, more ought to show.

Line 27. *Supra* 3–4. The line is parallel to the bottom of the stone. Though perhaps accidental, this is an anomolous condition, i.e. not found in other inscriptions. Line 27 extends so far to the right as to make it clear that Col. II did not extend down to the level of line 27, although Col. II did in fact extend down to within a few lines, ten or so, of this level. It is puzzling how the mason could have felt free to run line 27 out to such length. Eight months of the calendar remained to be inscribed. Evidently he must have thought they were largely empty; or it may be that his copy gave him the full plan for the inscription. As we have seen, it is more than possible that line 27 was the last on the stone.

Line 33. The trace is positive. Skias read it, but too far to the right.

Line 34. The (new) letter showing dimly in first place for the

item after the numeral is probably sigma, but may be epsilon or zeta.

Line 39. Hitherto read I . ΛΕ . Σ but the only indubitable letter is the epsilon. Before it, to judge by spacing in each of lines 36–38, there was room for exactly two full letters. At the margin is a thin irregular upright, lacking the character of a chisel stroke; no other stroke shows. Hence the line seems to have been insignificantly indented, like 22 and 24. To the right, next the upper part of the false iota, enough uninscribed space is preserved to show that the following letter can have begun with a curved or slanting stroke: a broad Ω or Α or Λ might be imagined. Such marks as look like chisel strokes would rather make a Γ. After the epsilon, a slanting stroke can be made out. Possibly a second *pelanos* was specified — second, subordinate, hence indented.

Line 40. This line may have been somewhat crowded vertically. The top of a tau is visible in first place.

Line 41. The numerals, read by Skias in this place, should not have been dropped by Kirchner; the first is positive, the second is sufficiently clear.

Definite Article. It will be convenient to have a digest of the uses (list: index s. v. ὁ). Present: with *θεός* (13) and with *Πλούτων* (24); with the word for festival (5) and the name of the festival, the Proerosia (6), and with 'the' Pannykhis (17); with the word for Priestesses, where they need to be defined (as from Eleusis, 15–16), and again Plouton's Priestess (24), and with "the two" Thesmo[phoroi]; with 'the' Megaron (22), 'the' apometra (23), 'the' altar (27). The definite article is omitted with Eleusinion (the one in Athens, 2); with *ἱερεύς* (13 — a line which already has one article), with *ἱεροφάντηι καὶ κήρυκι* (line 4 entire), and again with *ἱεροφάντης* (15); with *ἱερά* (10: *ἐφ' ἱεροῖς*), *ἄριστον* (5), *τράπεζαν* (12), *σπονδ[άς]* (18), *κανοῦν* (26), *ξύλα* (27, as always in this phrase). We would not imply that all these usages are on a par with each other, nor do we attempt to explain all of

them. The last six appear to offer no difficulty; others do. Oddly, the principles underlying the use of the definite article in Greek are still not understood (F. Blass, RhM 1889.7; quoted by W.K. Pritchett, AJP 1955. 199). It may help a little to note that in a document like the present, the language is naturally reduced to a minimum. Here we note only the curious consistency about the sex of cult personnel: Priestesses always have the article (three instances), male personnel never (four instances).

Numerals and Prices. The relation of the numerals in the margins to the various items for which the amounts were to be expended can be observed in only a few cases:

Line	2	[?]	The numeral, *if* any, ended the panel.
	7	Η-ΙΙΙ	A mid-day repast in Athens for two officials.
	9	ΔΔ	To Apollo Pythios: a goat, plus objects of lines 10–13.
	20	[--]	A more-than-one-numeral amount, erased, and the rest of the line erased.
	23	Δ	*Apometra* for the Priestess.
	26	[?]	A sacred basket for the Thesmophoroi.
	27	[--]	[A victim]; wood etc. for the altar.
	34	ΔΔ	Six lines intervened between these numeral-lines. Either numeral can have included all six; or one included some, the other the rest.
	41	ΔΔ	

The mid-day repast for the Hierophantes and Keryx (line 7) is exactly half of the cost of a piglet in the State Code earlier. In that same Code, a goat is valued at Dr 10, in the present Calendar (line 9) at Dr 20; but the items of lines 10–13 are also included, and for the cost of these no other information is available: since it included *hiereosyna* for the Priest, the amount *may* have been in all Dr 10. *Hiereosyna* at small sacrifices usually, however, was a smaller sum. If so, then this one figure, plus the other two (lines 34 and 41), may give a hint that the price of meat had risen, at least for grown animals; no other Athenian

calendar has the figure Dr 20. The Calendar may reflect some rise of prices before Alexander's conquest of Persia, or the beginnings of the great rise that followed his liberation of the Persian gold. Thus a date well before the end of the century seems indicated; but the Calendar provides too little information for certainty.

The erasure of entire lines in calendars is rare. Here we have two, 14 and 20. The suspicion is natural, though unconfirmed, that the lines may have been erased as a result of a decision to economize. In the new Erkhia Calendar, somewhat less than half the sacrifices are inscribed with the specification *οὐ φορά*, which Daux has understood, surely correctly, to mean that none of the meat is to be carried off from the scene of sacrifice. In a forthcoming study of some aspects of the Erkhia Calendar, Dow will suggest that the real intent is to prevent officials from carrying large cuts home, thus forcing wider and more equable distribution at the sacrifice. For three of the sacrifices in the Erkhia Calendar, *οὐ φορά* was added to the text by being inscribed after the text as a whole was complete. Economy in Erkhia, thus expressed by *οὐ φορά*, may be analogous to reductions in the Eleusis Calendar, some of them after the inscription was complete. Thus the erasures at Eleusis would be counterparts, in a sense, of the added injunctions *οὐ φορά* at Erkhia.

Another aspect of the Eleusis arrangements can be more positively stated. From the scant data tabulated *supra*, we may infer that the numeral was usually set against the line containing mention of the concrete object; failing that, at the end of the entry. Something can be said about some of the lines where the numeral is missing:

Line 20. There was no numeral in the erased line 14, and the problem is whether the Dr 20 of line 9 are intended to cover all the expenditures (including the cost of the goat in line 9) listed in lines 15–19, as well as those in lines 10–13, which certainly are to be covered. In lines 10–13, the Priest is involved; in lines 15–19, the Hierophantes and the Priestesses. It would seem unwise to leave what was left, after the table, etc., of lines 11–12, to be divided up among these various officials, without specifying any exact basis for the division. Surely the Priest was charged with providing the *progonion* and the fixings for the table in lines

11–12. Having been as pious and generous as he saw fit, he took what was left as *hiereosyna*. Surely he was *not* called upon to be generous, in addition, to the Hierophantes: to expect that would be asking for trouble. A fund for the Hierophantes and the Priestesses in their *pannykhis*, once inscribed, was erased in line 20; presumably some amount to take care of them was inscribed in line 21.

Line 34. Following what seems clear about line 9, it can now be surmised that the amount here, Dr 20, applies similarly to all of lines 34–39. Line 33 was perhaps a date. Line 34 had the main sacrifice. The Hierophantes or Priest was charged with some other expenditure; a subordinate offering went to Poseidon; the appropriate cakes, etc., were provided for, and finally no doubt the *hiereosyna*.

Line 41. Line 40 was probably a day-rubric, and 41 began a new panel, probably similar.

Our study of the document has shown that in it the price Dr 20 at least once, and probably always, applied to a few items which, though usually priced separately, in this inscription are lumped together. It seems unbusinesslike, almost certain to lead to trouble; but the arrangement provided flexibility, and we suspect there may have been good reasons why flexibility was desirable. One good reason would be instability of prices. It may even be that the present Calendar owes its existence in part, not just to greater control by the Deme, but to a desire to cope with rising, unstable prices.

[The present article was in page proof when we noticed a remote but striking identity of prices. *ICos* 369, most recently edited as (I. v. Prott —) L. Ziehen, *Leg. Gr. sac.* II 138, which is dated by editors vaguely *s. II a.* (as reproduced by Paton, some of the letter-forms could well be later still), prescribes a sacrifice of a goat to Aphrodite at Dr 20 (line 3) and of a goat to Apollon also at Dr 20 (line 9). For the latter sacrifice, certainly no extras (food, wood) are mentioned; for the sacrifice to Aphrodite apparently none (an unsolved crux terminates line 3). These data may re-open the problem of the Dr 20 at Eleusis, but we leave the reasoning *supra* with this caution.]

COMMENTARY ON FESTIVALS

Entries are preserved, some of them only partially, relating to at least four festivals:

(lacuna)
PROEROSIA, complete, lines 1–7; a festival at Eleusis, on (4)–(5)–6 Pyanopsion.
PYANOPSIA, incomplete, lines 8–21; in Athens, on 7 Pyanopsion.
THESMOPHORIA, the end only, lines 22–27; in Eleusis, on 11–13 Pyanopsion.
(lacuna)
? SKIRA, incomplete, lines 33–39, in Athens; on 12 Skirophorion.
(lacuna ? or end)

PROEROSIA

Lines 1–2. The entry was for some one of the four days 1–4 Pyanopsion. The new readings do not easily fit an infinitive, which might be expected, in line 2. But the entry as a whole need not be doubtful. It provides for sending the two officials of line 4, the Hierophantes and the Keryx, to the Eleusinion in Athens, in preparation for the *prorresis* on the next day. This was the view of O. Pringsheim, p. 108, and of L. Deubner, p. 68, as against L. Ziehen, p. 30. The present day is therefore 4 Pyanopsion. Line 2 may well contain a dative dual.

O. Rubensohn JdI 1925.25 believed that the Eleusinion of line 2 is the sanctuary at Eleusis rather than the Eleusinion in Athens. The latter, he maintained, is always qualified by either τὸ ἐν ἄστει or τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει, unless the context is perfectly clear. In the present instance, since line 1 cannot be read, there is no context. The entry seems to be closely connected, however, with the following entry of lines 3–7, in which provisions are made for the Eleusinian personnel who proclaim the solemn *prorresis* of the festival

of the Proerosia. This *prorresis* (discussed more fully *infra*), on the analogy of the well attested *prorresis* of the Mysteries, must also have taken place in the city. The Proerosia belonged to the festivals of the State Calendar, and the *prorresis* represents an invitation on the part of Eleusis to all citizens of Attika to attend the festival. Surely lines 1–2 instructed the officials to proceed to the city Eleusinion rather than to a sacrifice at Eleusis. This also seems to be supported by the use of εἰς and the accusative, which implies motion, whereas ἐν with the dative would be expected if the entry dealt with a sacrifice at the shrine at Eleusis. The absence of the qualifying phrase may be accounted for by the extreme brevity of formula noted also elsewhere in the Calendar. Furthermore Rubensohn's main point need not be granted. R. E. Wycherley, Athenian Agora: Testimonia, pp. 75–85, cites several instances of references to the city Eleusinion from both authors and inscriptions without the qualifying phrase, and L. H. Jeffrey, Hesp 1948. 86, note 4, also gives a list of such instances, to which the present inscription may now be added.

Lines 3–7. *The Day of the PROEROSIA.* The present inscription helps to establish the date of the Proerosia. Pyanopsion (October–November) is the month of the winter ploughing and sowing and is called μὴν σπόριμος (Plut. de Is. et Os. 378e). This fits with the name of the festival (προηρόσιος = προ-ἀροτος), its known character as a sacrifice for the future crops before the annual ploughing, and its almost certain connection with the ritual pre-ploughing of the sacred Rharian field at Eleusis (cf. Plut., Coniug. praec. 144a).

The present entry is recorded under the fifth, and editors have generally taken this to be the actual day of the festival, without noticing that the inscription specifies the *prorresis* of the festival rather than the festival itself. The *prorresis* of the Mysteries, although generally regarded as their "first" day, took place four full days before the procession to Eleusis and the celebration of the festival there. In this case, however, there was a regular series of intervening prescriptions and sacrifices to be performed in Athens before the festival. The Proerosia did not require such elaborate preparations, but still there was the return journey for the Hierophantes and the Herald after what must have been a

leisurely *ariston*, and sufficient time had to elapse also for those who wished to attend the festival from the city to proceed to Eleusis, probably in procession. There is no evidence that the sacrifice was an evening or night one, and its connection with the ritual ploughing of the Rharian field seems positively to exclude this. The Proerosia can hardly have taken place on the fifth.

Actually only one day is available. The Pyanopsia, inscribed immediately below the entry for the Proerosia, occurred on the seventh. The Proerosia were therefore on the sixth. This has the added advantage of bringing the celebration of the Proerosia and the Pyanopsia close together, as is indicated in the *aition* which connects a peculiar ritual custom of the latter festival with the institution of the former.

There is a possible objection to the assigning of the exact day of the festival to the sixth rather than to the fifth of Pyanopsion. A festival called the Plerosia occurs in a decree from the Peiraieus (IG II^2 1177, line 9) and in one from the deme Myrrhinous (IG II^2 1183, line 34). The Plerosia has been tentatively identified with the Proerosia by means of a gloss of Hesykhios: Πρηροσίαν· *θυσίαν τινά Ἀθήνησιν*, and certain parallel linguistic developments. In the decree from Myrrhinous the Plerosia are recorded under the restored rubric: *τῇ [δὲ πέμπτ]ῃ θυέτω τὴν* Πληροσίαν *ὁ δήμαρχος τῷ Διί*, κτλ. L. Ziehen (RE 21. 233–244) argues for the identification of the two like-named festivals and for the insertion of Πυανοψιῶνος earlier in the decree, although the only month explicitly mentioned is Posideon, in the subsequent lines. However, even if the identification of Plerosia with Proerosia, which is tempting despite serious difficulties, were to be made, it would not be decisive for the exact dating of the Eleusinian Proerosia. The festival at Myrrhinous is clearly a local festival without a *prorresis* or any connection with Eleusinian personnel, and the sacrifice is not offered to the Eleusinian deities, but to Zeus, by the local Demarkhos. As such it is likely to have been connected with the more ancient ritual ploughing of the sacred field at Skiron, which preceded in time also that of the Rharian field: Plut. Coniug. praec. 144a: *Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσιν, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα, δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ῥαρίᾳ, τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν τὸν καλούμενον βουζύγιον.*

This sacred ploughing at Skiron may well have occurred on the fifth. In any case, these various sacrifices before ritual sacred ploughing are likely to have taken place about the same time in the month of Pyanopsion before the regular ploughing, and to have given rise to local imitations like the one at the Peiraieus and at Myrrhinous. Slight variations in local pre-ploughing festivals may account also for the slight variations in the name of the festival. The Eleusinian Proerosia was the most important, and was the one to be adopted by the Athenian State, as the present calendar shows.

The Festival. The actual details about the sacrifice and festival of the Proerosia, preserved in the various lexicographers and other scattered sources, are few and mostly repetitious. The Proerosia are universally represented as a sacrifice offered to Demeter (under the mysterious name Deo) and to Kore for the eventual maturation of the seeds before the annual ploughing. The festival is said to have been instituted by the Athenians in historical times on the advice of an oracle of Pythian Apollo in order to put an end to a universal plague or famine (the sources vary between λοιμός and λιμός), and still to be offered by them annually for the whole Greek world; it is this which forms the basis for their universal claim to an ἀπαρχή of the resulting harvest. This is, of course, part of the general claim of Athens to hegemony in civilization, based on a reputed primacy in agriculture; and represents a new Panhellenic direction given to the old Eleusinian agricultural festival at the time of its adoption and embellishment by the State. The locale of the festival is the sacred enclosure of Demeter and Kore (hence the precaution of the *prorresis*). A series of Ephebic inscriptions (IG II^2 1028, 1029, etc.) attest the presence of the Epheboi at the festival of the Proerosia, as on other occasions, to handle the victims, τοῖς τε προηρεσίοις (sic) ἤραντο τοὺς βοῦς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. These victims, provided of course by the State, are not mentioned in the present calendar.

The orthography of the name of the festival varies between the forms προηρόσια, προηροσία, προηροσίαι (and possibly πληροσία and πρηροσία). It was also called προαρκτούρια from the position

of the stars at its celebration. The form in line 7 of the present Calendar, *προηροσίων*, is the ambiguous genitive plural.

The Ariston. The amount to be spent on the Hierophantes' and Keryx' meal, an *ἄριστον*, is Dr 1½; a fairly large sum, and not a natural multiple of two, it calls for explanation. In Athens, when the four Phylobasileis of the old Ionian tribes assembled, as they often did, for a banquet, they had roast suckling lamb at Dr 3 for the four of them. Half as many Eleusinians, with half of Dr 3 to spend, may or may not have spent it on half a suckling lamb, but the figure for the amount was probably determined by the Athenian calendar. In the present instance, it was not a dinner: *ἄριστον* can only mean "morning meal, breakfast," or "late mid-day meal," never (evening) dinner (LSJ).

The Herald. The Hierophantes is accompanied to Athens by a *κῆρυξ*, the titles being preceded by no articles. Absence of the article with male cult personnel seems to be normal; because he is not referred to here as *τῶι κήρυκι* does not mean he is not *the* Herald. This is a point of some importance. The only Eleusinian Herald known is treated by P. Foucart, Les mystères d'Eleusis 202–204, who adopted the restoration still universally accepted, *hιερ*[*οκῆρυχς*], κτλ., in IG I² 6. 89–90. Apparently this is correct, because the Hierophantes is provided for in the next clause. In Plut. Alc. 22, however, the Herald appears as *ὁ κῆρυξ*; in Xenophon Hell. 2.4.20 he is *ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν μυστῶν*. In Demosthenes c.Neaira 78 (not 70 as in Foucart) the term is *τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα*. Evidently we should regard these variations as yet another instance of Greek imprecision about titles: the office is doubtless all the same. In certain contexts there was no danger of misunderstanding. The present document (which Foucart fails to mention) is one of these. Even though the words are few, they tell much. The Herald accompanies the greatest official of Eleusis, the Hierophantes himself, to Athens, their mission being to announce the Proerosia. We may plausibly conjecture that during the year they made several missions: they were the regular officials for such announcings. Like the Phylobasileis in Athens, they banqueted sumptuously, no doubt off roast suckling lamb,

on every occasion. Doubtless this mission originated at a very early period, and was too well established for democratic reformers to abolish. The context made the more elaborate title unnecessary. Clearly the Herald of these missions was no ordinary herald, distinct from the great Hierokeryx, but was the Hierokeryx himself, a person fit to be the companion of the Hierophantes.

For the ceremony of the *prorresis* of the Mysteries, however, a different official is mentioned: the *prorresis* of the Mysteries was by the Hierophantes and the Dadoukhos. The ceremony took place in the Stoa Poikile, on what was called "the first day of the Mysteries" (Hesykhios, s.v. *ἀγυρμός*). The Hierophantes and Dadoukhos functioned as the supreme representatives of their respective *Gene*, the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes. Of course not all the members of the Herald *Genos* were qualified by nature to serve as Heralds, and it appears that the actual proclaiming of the Mysteries was by some regular Herald, if we may take literally the phrase *voce praeconis* in the account of the Emperor Nero's exclusion (Suet. Nero 34). And yet the Mysteries were one of the greatest ceremonial occasions for the Eleusinians, so that it is hard to believe that the Herald was not one of the Genos of the Kerykes, in fact the Ἱεροκῆρυξ himself.

Be this as it may, the Dadoukhos, for whatever reason, is absent from the present panel.

The Prorresis. The *prorresis* itself can perhaps be clarified. Like the *prorresis* of the Mysteries, which came so late that it hardly was an announcement at all, the essential element may well have been a warning against the participation of those who were not worthy to attend, i.e. not ritually pure, instituted doubtless long since, when the Eleusinian festival was opened to Athenians generally; some such warning might well have been needed, since henceforth it was necessary to deal with a much larger and relatively unknown group of would-be participants. As parallels, similarly intended procedures can be cited. The solemn *prorresis* before the Mysteries (Isoc. 4.157; Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 369; Dio Chrys. 17. 273; Lucian Pseudom. 38; Suet. Nero 34; Theo. Smyrn. p. 28, éd. Dupuis) had as its express purpose to exclude

barbarians, murderers, and persons of unclear speech from the celebration; and the usage of the words προαγορεύειν and προαγόρευσις in Attic law (Pl. Leg. 871c; Arist. AthPol. 57; Pollux 8.66 and 90) also looks to the exclusion of criminals from participation in sacred rites. A roughly contemporaneous decree of the priest of Apollo Erithaseos, IG II^2 1362, against despoiling the god's sacred grove, employs as its formula of prohibition the phrase: π[ρ]οαγορεύει καὶ ἀπογορεύει. Moreover, the solemn ritual *prorresis* is attested only for the Mysteries, and, from the present inscription, for the Proerosia. Thus, it appears to have been a specifically Eleusinian feature, a measure designed to serve not so much as a proclamation of, and invitation to, a festival, but rather as a precaution against possible contamination arising from indiscriminate participation in it. It is one more instance of the well-known concern of Eleusis for ritual purity, secrecy, and the exclusion of the unworthy from its worship.

Lines 8–9ff. As is well known, the seventh of every month was Apollo's day, and the Pyanopsia, as well as the Thargelia, were celebrated on that day. The present text provides that one offering was to him as Pythios. Other references to the festival do not furnish an epithet, and the present text contributes information from which certain conclusions can be drawn.

Tripods won at the Thargelia were sometimes dedicated in the Pythion (Suid. s.v. *Πύθιον· ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος . . . εἰς ὃ τοὺς τρίποδας . . . νικήσαντες τὰ Θαργήλια*), and a stele recently discovered in the Pythion (F. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées [1962], 14) shows this festival under the direction of the Priest of Apollo Pythios (lines 34–35; 52–53). The decree, moreover, affirms the identity of Apollo Pythios with Apollo Patroös, to whom the ancestral sacrifices to Apollo at Athens were offered: *Ἀπόλλων ὁ Πύθιος ὢν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις Πατρῷος* (lines 9–10), a fact also supplied by Demosthenes (18.141): *τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς Πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει.* This information joined to the epithet found in the present line 9 establishes with certainty that the main festivals of Apollo at Athens, the Thargelia and the Pyanopsia, were offered to Apollo Pythios, and that their locale was his shrine the Pythion.

The epithet Pythios also supplies the reason for the Pyanopsia being entered in the sacrificial Calendar of Eleusis. An *αἴτιον* to explain the curious custom of the *εἰρεσιῶναι* carried in procession at the Pyanopsia connects this rite directly with the institution of the Proerosia at Eleusis: *οἱ μὲν γάρ φησιν ὅτι λιμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ὅτι καὶ λοιμοῦ τὴν πᾶσαν κατάσχοντος οἰκουμένην, χρωμένων τίνα ἂν τρόπον παύσαιτο τὸ δεινόν, τὴν λύσιν ταύτην ὁ Πύθιος ἐμαντεύσατο, εἰ προηρόσιον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι θύσειαν* (Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 729). The Proerosia itself, then, was thought to have been instituted by a command of Apollo Pythios, in consequence of which the *εἰρεσιῶναι*, symbolic of fruitfulness, were carried in the procession of the Pyanopsia celebrated in his honor. Thus it was only natural that Eleusis should send its sacred personnel, together

with a special sacrifice, to the festival of Apollo Pythios in thanksgiving for the institution of its own festival, which institution, moreover, was actually commemorated in one of the peculiar rites of the Pyanopsia. This mutual interconnection of the two festivals explains not only the presence of Eleusinian personnel at the Pyanopsia, but also their position in the Calendar following one another, the one on the sixth, the other on the seventh of Pyanopsion.

When, as hitherto, the preposition in line 16 was read *ἐν*, the present panel was thought to attest a local celebration at Eleusis itself (Pringsheim 109, Deubner 199). The entry was read, erroneously, as if "for the Hierophantes and the Priestesses in Eleusis." The new (and positive) reading of the one crucial letter, so that the reading is "from Eleusis," makes a considerable difference. The Hierophantes and the Priestesses journeyed to Athens for the *pannykhis* in the Pythion there. In their absence no celebration is likely to have taken place at Eleusis. We may assume that they participated fully in the Athenian celebrations. For the Thargelia at Athens, there was a procession, and the Hierophantes and the Dadoukhos took part, as well as other Eleusinian personnel, who are explicitly stated to have come for that purpose. The text reads (*πομπευέτωσαν*) *ὁ ἱερο*[*φάν*]*της καὶ ὁ* [*δαιδ*]*ο*[*ῦ*]*χος καὶ ὁ μετὰ τούτων ἥκοντες* (Sokolowski, Lois sacrées [1962] no. 14, lines 34–36), which latter group doubtless included the Priestesses of line 16. If the cult personnel went to Athens from Eleusis to participate in the festival of the Thargelia there, surely there was more reason for them to do so for the Pyanopsia, a festival with which they were so closely connected. The Thargelia now take their place as one more instance of how extensively Athens had succeeded in absorbing the Eleusinian state and its cults. The best exposition of this, though brief, is in M.P. Nilsson, Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics, 36–39.

Pending a fuller discussion elsewhere, we note that the present passage, in its earlier form, has played some part in the restoration of a decree for Prytaneis of 140/39 B.C., published by B.D. Meritt, Hesp 1948. 17–19. Line 11 cites sacrifices to Theseus and, as restored by Meritt, *Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Π*[*ατρώιωι*]. Keith Stanley,

AJP 1961. 425–427, proposed instead Π[*υθίωι*], but he failed to investigate the space available. Meritt countered with a dual argument: (1) the space available is so long as absolutely to exclude Apollo Pythios, whereas Patroös can be accommodated with ease; and (2) Apollo Pythios need not be associated with Theseus, etc. As to (2), when he wrote, some such association was necessary, because, as he pointed out, line 16 of the present inscription, read with *ἐν*, referred to sacrifices in Eleusis. The new reading, however, indicates strongly that Apollo Pythios is the proper deity in the Prytaneis inscription. Study of (1) the spacing, by methods which take all relevant factors into account, shows that a restoration with Patroös, as Meritt claimed, fits the space, but that a restoration with Pythios, which cult requires, can definitely be accommodated. A detailed exposition will not affect the present text.

The victim offered by the participants from Eleusis at the festival of the Pyanopsia at Athens is stated in line 9 to be a goat. It would, of course, not be the main victim of the festival, but merely a gift brought by the Eleusinian personnel so as not to arrive empty-handed. Such gifts as supplementary offerings by groups or private individuals at the festivals are known otherwise. Thus, for example, the Epheboi brought two oxen to the Eleusinia (IG II^2 1028 line 16) and certain Epimeletai of the Mysteries supplied a bull at their own expense for the same festival (IG II^2 847 line 25).

The usual price for a goat earlier had been Dr 10, and the sum of Dr 20 in line 9 evidently includes provision for the other items, viz. those in lines 10–13. This is why connectives are expressed (lines 10 and 11). Connectives are unusual in sacred calendars, which regularly are paratactic; no others appear in what is preserved of the present Calendar. Evidently it was left to the Hierophantes and his colleagues to apportion the sum as they saw fit. *Supra* 11–13.

Lines 10–14. *The Sacred Table Offerings.* In addition to the victim of line 9, a series of objects connected with a sacred table (line 13) is listed, joined by *καί* (line 10) to the principal offering. The phrase *τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς*, which begins the list, is understood by both Ziehen (p. 30) and Dittenberger (Syll.^{3} n. 1038, p. 192) to

refer to the minor ritual offerings of honey, wine, and meal which customarily accompanied the sacrifice of a victim, and to be equivalent to *ἐπιθύματα* or *θύστρα*, in the meaning of "additions to the sacrifice." For this usage they adduce certain parallels where the interpretation seems probable: cf. especially IG II^2 1672, 62: *εἰς μύ]ησιν οἷς* : Δ⊢⊢ : *εἰς ἱερὰ* : ⊢⊢⊢:. Accordingly, they join the phrase to the preceding line, and consider *προγόνιον* (for which they read *πρόγονον*) to be a new and unconnected entry. Their parallels are, however, ambiguous, and do not cover all the different uses of the word *ἱερά* found in the sacred calendars; the phrase is a broad one, which may fit in a variety of contexts, and may simply mean "the things for the sacred proceedings." In the present text *τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς* may refer rather to the following items, and may be a summary-like phrase of general denomination to which they give specific content. This interpretation seems to make better sense of the context, grammar, and physical disposition of the lines themselves, which are difficult because of the obscurity of meaning of the word *προγόνιον* and the introductory *καί*. The word *καί* must connect either the phrase itself or all of lines 10–14 to the preceding line 9.

The word *προγόνιον* requires more study. Ziehen (p. 30) read *πρόγονον*; Dittenberger, with some hesitation, originally emended it to *πρότονον* (SIG^2 n. 628, p. 424), but in Hiller von Gaertringen's later edition (SIG^3 n. 1038, p. 192) this suggestion is dropped, and the form is again given as *πρόγονον*. Ziehen, in line with his interpretation of *τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς*, attempts to find in the word another victim of some kind, and cites in support of this view a gloss of Hesykhios: *πρόγονοι, οἱ πρωτόγονοι ἄρνες*. Likewise LSJ s.v. *πρόγονον* cites this line of IG II^2 1363 for the meaning "early-born," and understands that it here applies to a sheep. The lack, however, of a specific price for this victim, which could hardly be included in the amount specified in line 9 along with the objects of the table, for which a *ἱερεώσυνα* had to be paid to the Priest (line 13), seems fatal to this theory. The prices for victims in sacrificial calendars are always carefully specified, although minor items can sometimes be summed up under general headings such as *ἱερεώσυνα* or *εἰς τὰ ἄλλα* (cf. line 27). Moreover, a sheep costs more than a goat in the State

Calendar and elsewhere, so that it could not be purchased along with a goat for only Dr 20. Also one would expect a major victim offered to the same deity on the same occasion to be placed before the *ἐπιθύματα* which Ziehen understands to be meant by *τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς*; moreover *τὰ μετὰ τούτου* cannot be identified with *τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς*, as he further supposes in order to get around this difficulty, since there is no reason for a significant and unexplained change in the two formulas which follow one another so closely, if they mean the same thing. Finally, though *πρόγονον* could conceivably be connected with the gloss of Hesykhios, *προγόνιον* cannot.

Dittenberger, on the other hand, abandons the search for a further victim in the line, and emends the word to *πρότονον* because the word *προτόνιον* occurs as a synonym for some sort of garment or clothing connected with sacred utensils in a passage of Pollux (10. 191): *εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν, ἔστι μὲν ὑφάσματα, καλεῖται δὲ ἱστριανόν, προτόνιον, ἡμίμιτρον.* Hesykhios s.v. likewise labels *προτόνιον ὕφασμα.* The same word also occurs in a gloss of Suidas in a similar context: *προτόνιον· ἱματίδιον ὃ ἱέρεια ἀμφιέννυται*, which goes on to state that it is a woollen garment placed by the priestess on the victim at the sacrifice. Finally, Hesykhios also provides the form *προγωνίαν*, which he categorizes as a difficult word — *τῶν ἠπορημένων ἡ λέξις*, and defines as a garment: *ἔστι δὲ ὑφασμάτιον ποικίλον ὃ ἐπικαλυψάμενος ὁ μάγειρος θύει, ὡς ἐν Δαμασκῷ.* Moreover, although the form found in all the manuscripts is *προγωνίαν*, it is listed in the alphabetical order of the passage as if it were actually *προγονίαν.* This variation in spelling and lack of precision in defining the word on the part of the late lexicographers is an indication that it was not a common word or one still in actual use; but they all clearly place it in a sacred context as some sort of material or cloth used in the ritual of sacrifices and offerings.

The word *προγόνιον*, spelled as in the present calendar, also occurs in an Athenian inscription, in the context of a sacred function and in connection with the word *στέμμα*, which is used frequently in cult inscriptions, and means a sacred "garland" or "chaplet", usually made from wool. This inscription, a section of the State Calendar (IG II^2 1357), is especially significant for

the present problem since the preceding panel deals with Apollo and ends with a mention of him. Our text reads as follows:

158 [.[2] 'A]π[ό]λλωνι
τάδε ἔπεσθαι τῶι καν[ῶι]
160 τρίποδα ἐπιτοξίδας
στέμμα προγόνιον
162 [.[4].]ισκον σφαῖρα[ν]
[----------]

(The line-numbers are new and probably will have to be changed, but they are better than IG II^2.) Study of the terms is also as yet incomplete. Thus the first word in line 162 should eventually yield, and the "ball" ought to explain itself. In 160 for *ἐπιτοξίδας* LSJ can give no meaning, nor can we.

στέμμα προγόνιον is difficult, but perhaps less so. For the reading of the last letter, it should be noted that the top of the second vertical is faint but in the right position. A thin horizontal, probably too thin to be an intentional stroke of the chisel, would otherwise make the letter pi. There are many words in *προγον–* and as given in LSJ all refer to ancestry or birth; always with such meanings, *πρόγονος* is common. It would seem that *προγόνιος* could hardly have any meaning other than "pertaining to ancestry", perhaps "an (otherwise unnamed) (ritual) ancestral object." Thus *στέμμα προγόνιον* would mean a special ritual "ancestral fillet" ("showing ancestry," LSJ) which might conceivably be shortened (present inscription) to *προγόνιον* alone. This meaning cannot be categorically denied.

Nevertheless the glosses of the lexicographers cited *supra* and the presence of the cult table (line 12) in the immediate context, support Dittenberger's reasoning. The *προγόνιον* is not a victim, but is some kind of cult article made from fabric, and it is used in connection with the sacred table of Apollo. It cannot be a table-cloth; table-cloths are not known to have been used before the time of Titus and Domitian. Perhaps it may be a special type of ornamented ritual apron worn by the ministrant at the sacred table, as the context of the lexicographers and its alterna-

tive derivation, viz. from *προ–* and *γόνυ* suggest (something which 'hangs before the knees').

On this basis, the reading being positive, and all emendations dubious, it seems justifiable to claim that the *progonion* is to be added to the limited number of Greek cult vestments already recognized. Apart from the one other occurrence, in the State Calendar, quoted *supra*, the word is unknown. Its use, however, can hardly be doubtful. Modern butchers wear aprons, and in the Bronze Age leather aprons are easily recognized on the Hagia Triadha sarcophagus, where they are worn by three figures bearing offerings, two of which are animals. Classical representations are to be sought. But the word was rarely used in writings, and in the lexicographers, some of whom know that the object was of fabric, the spelling became distorted. All of the references given *supra*, however, evidently originated in *πρόγονιον*.

Study of other Greek cult vestments would be out of place here, but they have been so little treated that we should point out that there are many mentions in *leges sacrae*: see the indexes of F. Sokolowski's two volumes Lois sacrées de l'Asie mineure (1955) and Lois sacrées, Supplement (1962) s. vv. *ἐσθής*, *ἐπικράνιον*, *χλαμύς*, etc., *vêtements*; cf. the former (1955) pp. 36, 101. In the new Sacred Calendar from Teithras, as will be pointed out elsewhere, line A12 evidently deals with an *ἐσθήτ*[*α*?]. The Eleusinian Hierophantes and Dadoukhos wore a special garment, the *στολή*, "dignified and most august" (Athen. 1. 21); Alkibiades, parodying the Mysteries, was said to have put one on (Plut. Alc. 22). For a relief of s. I p. showing a Hierophantes wearing this garment, also the head-band (*στρόφιον*) and fancy boots (*κόθορνοι*?), see AJA 1960. 268 and pl. 73 fig. 17. Other priests regularly wore a long *χίτων* (P. Stengel, Die gr. Kultusaltertümer, ed. 3, pp. 47–48 — the only treatment we have seen of cult vestments). At Pellene the *χλαῖναι* awarded as prizes probably had pious associations (most recently on these prizes, L. Moretti, Iscr. agon. gr., p. 14). The *ἱμάτιον* seems to have no special place, and the *φᾶρος* is usual for the old statue of Athena: thus in the State Code, Hesp 1935. 21. 7. — Irrelevant here, but needing attention, are head-bands and the like.

The phrase *καὶ τὰ μετὰ τούτου* of line 11 is also understandable

in this connection: it means "and the things along with this" (scil. the apron), and refers to other sacred utensils or decorations for the table itself. Accordingly, the whole section of the panel dealing with the cult table should be punctuated as follows: *καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς, προγόνιον καὶ τὰ μετὰ τούτου, τράπεζαν κοσμῆσαι τῶι θεῶι, ἱερεώσυνα ἱερεῖ*, and can be somewhat broadly translated: "and the things for the sacred function, i.e. the ritual apron and the things connected with it, to dress the table for the god: an allowance for the Priest" (scil. to supply them). The ritual apron and the ornaments for the table need not, of course, be purchased on each occasion; they would rather be saved from year to year, and the *ἱερεώσυνα* would be considered as a recompense to the Priest who kept them for their use at the festival.

The table itself is mentioned in line 12. It is most appropriate at the festival of the Pyanopsia, whose central feature was, as the name itself was believed to indicate, the presentation to Apollo of a dish of beans and other mixed pulse cooked in earthen pots. The institution of the custom of the sacred table itself, moreover, seems to have been closely connected with Apollo Pythios, and may have been a special feature of his worship, since its use in other cults also is often prescribed *κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* (cf. IG II^2 1933, 1934). Ziehen p. 40 cites a fragment of a Fifth Century Athenian document (IG I^2 190, lines 13–14) in which this connection is also evident: *'A]πόλλωνι Πυθίοι τέ[λεον – – – – | – – –]: ἐνστορνύναι τρά[πεζαν – – –]*. The verb *κοσμῆσαι* is regular for "dressing" or "arranging" the table. The words *τῶι θεῶι* of line 13 refer to Apollo Pythios, and make it clear that the feast is not merely for the human participants, but is an offering to the god — whoever actually consumed it. The *ἱερεώσυνα*, as has been argued *supra*, is the recompense made to the Priest, surely him of Apollo Pythios, for the use of the articles connected with the sacred table.

Line 14, *Erased* out to, but not including, the margin. Therefore it did not contain a numeral; desire to excise a price specified for a new expenditure, as if it were an act of retrenchment at some date subsequent to the original calendar, cannot be the reason for the erasure. Nor is there anything to be said for the view of Pringsheim (p. 109), that the line contained the specific

title of the Priest, viz., *τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου, along with the price for the ἱερεώσυνα, and was later removed by Eleusis in a spirit of Eleusinian exclusiveness. If this view were correct, the latter half of line 13, which contains mention of the ἱερεώσυνα and the Priest, would also have to be removed. For the Priest is already sufficiently designated by association with the recipient deity, Apollo Pythios, of line 9: in this, and similar Calendars, official nomenclature is abbreviated to the minimum consistent with comprehension (cf. e.g. the abbreviation of the ἱεροκῆρυξ in line 4, and the frequent omission of the definite article). However, the erasure was almost certainly made after the completion of the calendar, since if it were intended as a simple correction of, e.g., a misplaced line, the line would have been reinscribed immediately. Apparently, therefore, some ritual prescription was removed for a reason which we cannot guess, at a time when the inscribing had proceeded beyond, or had been finished.

Dittenberger (SIG[3] 1038, note 7) argues that the line contained a new date, on the ground that lines 15–20, with their mention of Priestesses and the παννυχίς, fit in better with the subsequent Thesmophoria of the same month (cf. lines 22–27), rather than with the Pyanopsia. Ziehen (p. 31) also wishes to find a date originally inscribed in the line, namely, the 9th, and cites a gloss of Photios, to the effect that a παννυχίς took place at the Stenia of this date, a festival which formed a part of the Thesmophoria: Στήνια, ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν . . . ἐν αὐτῇ νυκτὸς αἱ γυναῖκες ἀλλήλαις. Deubner (p. 53) accepts this view of Ziehen, and cites lines 15 ff. as evidence for the fact that a παννυχίς corresponding to that of the Stenia took place at Eleusis at the same date. All three of these suggestions encounter the objection that the erasure is too long (at least 15½ spaces and probably several more) to have contained any of the suggested dates. Besides, no likely reason for the subsequent erasure of the date can be assigned, since the dates were necessary to designate the festivals. In addition, on the view argued above, that the panel of the Pyanopsia represents a participation of Eleusis in the city festival of Apollo Pythios, we would expect to find Eleusinian personnel present along with their offerings, which is precisely what lines 15 ff. provide for. Accordingly, no date was originally inscribed in line 14, and lines

15 ff. belong to the panel of the Pyanopsia, rather than to the following panel (lines 22–27) of the Thesmophoria.

Lines 15–20. *The Priestesses and the* πανννχίς. In line 15 the Hierophantes is inscribed first, but again the Dadoukhos is noticeable by his absence, although he follows the Hierophantes in the list of personnel present in Athens for the Thargelia (Sokolowski, Lois sacrées [1962] no. 14, lines 35 ff.). This time the Hierophantes is accompanied by a group of Priestesses. At Eleusis they are referred to simply as αἱ ἱέρειαι. Thus in the Demarkhos inscription of Eleusis from ca. 165/4 (IG II^2 949, line 8), dealing with the festival of the Kalamaia, where, as in the present calendar, they are closely associated with the Hierophantes, they are called simply αἱ ἱέρειαι: καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἔστειλεν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ τῶν ἱερειῶν. Also in the accounts of the ἐπιστάται of Eleusis for 329/8 (IG II^2 1672, line 293): εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς οἰκίας ταῖς ἱερείαις θυρώματα Δ; and in another Eleusinian document (IG I^2 81, lines 10–11) they are designated likewise by their simple title: τὰ ἱερὰ φέροσιν αἱ ἱέρειαι ἀ[σ]φαλέστατα, as also in a fragment (fr. 1) of the historian Demo (FGH, I, p. 378): τοῦτο ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. τῶν ἱερειῶν γάρ, κτλ.

These Priestesses are distinct from the more widely known Priestess of Demeter and Kore and the other female personnel of Eleusis, and seem to have been a sort of religious community living a celibate life in a special "sacred" dwelling close to the sanctuary at Eleusis, and to have been occupied with the Eleusinian cult of the Goddesses. P. Foucart (Les Grands Mystères d'Eleusis, pp. 66–67) has collected the sparse information available about them, and identifies them with the ἱέρειαι παναγεῖς and the μέλισσαι, who are mentioned as special priestesses at Eleusis occasionally in the lexicographers. Because of their special holiness they alone were allowed to touch the ἱερά of Eleusis on its journeys to and from Athens. They may perhaps have belonged to the *Genos* of the Eumolpidai.

The πανννχίς of the Pyanopsia (line 17) is not known from any other source, but a pannykhis is attested for the Bendideia, Epidauria, Haloa, Heroa, Panathenaia, Stenia, and Tauropolia, and may well have been a part of several other major festivals.

The Eleusinian personnel are provided with libations and other offerings for the occasion in lines 18ff. The σπονδάς are liquid offerings; the ψαιστά are cakes of ground barley.

Line 20, *Erased*, extends into the margin, and so a numeral, which would be expected for the cost of the minor items of lines 18–19, has also been erased. The items of lines 15–19 must have been paid for by an amount in some following line (not, presumably, the amount in line 9: *supra* 11–13, 23). It is simplest to suppose that the mason erased an erroneous line, 20, and preferred to leave it, inscribing the correct version in line 21.

Lines 22–27. Fragment B of the inscription, which contains prescriptions for the Thesmophoria (cf. lines 25–26), must have followed closely after Fragment A, since the festival of the Thesmophoria occurred on the 11th through the 13th of the same month, Pyanopsion. Between the two fragments a few lines must have intervened, since the end of a panel is preserved in line 22.

Line 22. *The Megaron.* The preserved end of the panel dealing with the Thesmophoria begins *πρὸς τὸ μέγαρον.* It is the place where a sacrifice or ritual action, now lost, was to occur. The problem of the *megaron* was dealt with most recently in an article of much wider scope, O. Rubensohn, JdI 1955.23–24; summary, J/L. Robert, REG 1956.119, no. 75. Rubensohn concludes that the *megaron* is a temple, but not the temple. We have attempted to examine the evidence afresh.

The temple of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, called *τελεστήριον* and *ἀνάκτορον*, is evidently referred to on occasion also as *τὸ μέγαρον.* Thus Hesykhios s.v. *ἀνάκτορον*: *τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος, ὅ τινες μέγαρον κάλουσιν*, and Pollux (9.15), who includes it between terms used specially for the temple at Eleusis in a catalogue of the sacred installations outside the city: *τὰ κατὰ δήμους ἱερά, τελεστήρια, μέγαρα, ἀνάκτορα, χρηστήρια, ἡρῷα*, κτλ. The word is also used more generally to describe temples of Demeter elsewhere by Pausanias, as, for example, the temple at Megara (1. 40. 6), and that at Lykosoura (8. 37. 8). Moreover, it is employed by Aelian, fr. 10, p. 192, 4H, preserved in Suidas s.v. *μέγαρον*: (*τὸ μέγαρον*) *ἔνθα δήπου τῷ μὲν ἱεροφάντῃ μόνῳ παρελθεῖν θεμιτὸν ἦν*, apparently to designate a special sacred section of the temple at Eleusis. It would be natural, then, to suppose that the place indicated in line 22 of the Eleusinian calendar was the temple of Demeter at Eleusis itself.

In connection with the Thesmophoria, however, there was a special use of the term to indicate the underground pit, or pits

(since *μέγαρα* is also often used), sacred to Demeter and Kore, from which the remains of piglets let down earlier in the year were removed and placed on the altars by the women in order to be mixed with the seed-corn. This action formed the central ritual proceeding of the festival, as the important Scholion to Lucian D. Meretr. (p. 276, 3–9 Rabe) attests: *τὰ δὲ σαπέντα τῶν ἐμβληθέντων εἰς τὰ μέγαρα κάτω ἀναφέρουσιν ἀντλήτριαι καλούμεναι γυναῖκες καθαρεύσασαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα καὶ ἀνενέγκασαι ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ὧν νομίζουσι τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ τῷ σπόρῳ συγκαταβάλλοντα εὐφορίαν ἄξειν.* In this sense *μέγαρα* is a synonym for *χάσματα*, *ἄδυτα* as the text of the Lucian-Scholion lines 19–20 explicitly states: *ἐμβάλλονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ μέγαρα οὕτω καλούμενα ἄδυτα ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ χοῖροι, κτλ.* This use of the term is also found in the lexicographers, who try to sum up the various meanings of the word. Thus Hesykhios defines *μέγαρα* as *οἱ μὲν καταγείους οἰκήσεις καὶ βάραθρα*, and Photios s.v. and Eustathios (Od. 1, 27 ff.; p. 1387, 19), who, however, quoting respectively Menander and Ailios Dionysios, change the spelling: *ὅτι μάγαρον, οὐχὶ μέγαρον, εἰς ὃ τὰ μυστικὰ ἱερὰ κατατίθενται.* Pausanias (9. 8. 1) shows the same underground installations at the shrine of Demeter and Kore at Potniai in Boiotia: *καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγαρα καλούμενα ἀφιᾶσιν ὗς τῶν νεογνῶν.* L. Deubner (JDAI 1925. 213 ff.) publishes an Attic red-figured vase, which shows a woman bending over and inserting a piglet into such an underground chamber from which the top of torches, to symbolize that it belongs to Demeter and Kore, emerge. Finally, an inscription from the Peiraieus, which shows a similar institution there in connection with the local Thesmophoria, and confirms the form *μέγαρον*, is extremely significant in this context: (IG II^2 1177, lines 6–12): *μήτε τὸ μέγαρον προσίωσιν, ἄνευ τῆς ἱερέας ἀλλ' ἢ ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Θεσμοφορίων καὶ Πληροσίᾳ καὶ Καλαμαίοις καὶ τὰ Σκίρα καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλην ἡμέραν συνέρχονται αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* (this inscription, incidentally, names three of the festivals which are contained in the present calendar). Clearly the *μέγαρον* of line 22 is similar to that involved in the city Thesmophoria and in the local Thesmophoria at the Peiraieus, and designates the underground pit which is indispensable to the central rites of the festival.

O. Rubensohn, pp. 23–32, argues against this identification of the μέγαρον with the underground pit of the Thesmophoria on the following grounds: (1) there is no mention of a sacrifice or a priestess or cult officials in the Lucian-Scholion dealing with the *megaron*, and so it is not properly a cult or sacrifice place; (2) no natural or artificial underground pit in or near the sanctuary at Eleusis has been discovered which can be clearly identified with the *megaron*; and (3) the underground pit and the ritual actions connected with it at the Thesmophoria belong, not to Eleusis, but rather to the city Thesmophoria and the closely related celebration of the festival at Halimous. There is some clear evidence. Although the loss of a few lines between Fragments A and B does not allow us to determine precisely what took place at the *megaron*, there is no reason to suppose that whatever action took place, the presence of the priestess, who would naturally receive an emolument, was not required before the Thesmophoriazousai could approach the sacred place. The ritual prohibition from approaching the *megaron*, at the Peiraieus, IG II^2 1177, line 6, except at the time of certain festivals connected with it, explicitly calls for the presence of a priestess: μήδε τὸ μέγαρον προσίωσιν ἄνευ τῆς ἱερέας. Moreover, a decree of 334/3 B.C. from the deme Kholargos, IG II^2 1184, records a grant made by the women leaders of the festival to the priestess: τῇ ἱερείᾳ εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλιαν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων. Clearly, then, the presence of a priestess was required at the celebration of the festival, and probably some preliminary sacrifice took place at the *megaron*. The Scholiast to Lucian was interested only in explicating the unusual features of the cult, and so omitted any reference to the accompanying priestess or attendant sacrifice.

In the great area of the sanctuary at Eleusis, a sacred pit, not necessarily large or impressively walled, could easily be missed by excavators. The use of πρός with the accusative, which indicates motion toward a place, is suggestive here. Finally, that something corresponding to the central action of the city Thesmophoria, which, as Rubensohn admits, involved the *megaron* in the sense of an underground pit, and which is described in detail in the Lucian Scholiast, also took place at the similar celebration of the Thesmophoria elsewhere, seems only natural.

The use of the word μέγαρον in the celebration of the Thesmophoria at the Peiraieus again suggests that it had a special role to play in the various celebrations of the festival throughout Attika, and not only at the city festival; and that similar installations and activities could be expected to be found wherever the festival took place.

Incidentally, Rubensohn erroneously applies the prescriptions of lines 15–20 to the Thesmophoria, rather than to the Pyanopsia (cf. Commentary *supra* on line 14).

Line 23, *the Apometra*, is evidently the beginning of a new panel on the same day. The Priestess is specified only by the definite article rather than by her full official title. Her identity is clear from the context: at the festival of the Thesmophoria, celebrated in honor of Demeter and Kore, a priestess without further specification could only be ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης (Photios, s.v. Φιλλεῖδαι, the Genos from which she was drawn), or, as she was sometimes known, ἡ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱέρεια. An extremely important personage, she is more usually labelled simply, as here, ἡ ἱέρεια (IG II^2 1672, lines 18, 74, 126 and Demos. c. Neaira 59.116). In the decree of ca. 480 B.C. concerning the Mysteries (IG I^2 6, section c, lines 5–6), she receives an allowance from the Mystai, and in another decree, concerned with the Thesmophoria, that of the deme Kholargos (IG II^2 1184, lines 3–6, of 334/3 B.C.), she is given material and money. The *apometra* in the present line 23 seems likewise to have been granted in view of her general overseeing of the festival. She also receives an *apometra*, the highest known, Dr 100, in the State Calendar at the festival of the Eleusinia (col. III, lines 75–76). In sacred calendars an *apometra* seems to be an outright gift or perquisite, as opposed to a *hiereosyna* which is connected with some sort of cult expense; moreover, if preserved occurrences do not mislead, *apometra* are given only to Priestesses.

Lines 24–27: *The Priestess of Plouton.* Another Priestess is mentioned in line 24, distinct from the Priestess of Demeter of the previous line. This time her title, the Priestess of Plouton, is given in order to distinguish her from the Priestess of Demeter.

The existence of the Priestess of Plouton is not known from any other source. The connection of the husband of Persephone with the worship of Eleusis, however, is a close and widely attested one. He had a sanctuary at Eleusis close to the temple of Demeter and Kore, the Ploutonion, which is mentioned frequently in the *ἐπιστάται* accounts (IG II^2 1672, lines 169, 172, 177, 185), and an altar there (*ibid.*, line 140); he shared in several of their sacrifices (cf. IG I^2 5; II^2 1672, line 181). The Hierophantes took special care of his sacred table (IG II^2 1933 and 1934): *τούσδε ἐπιώψ[ατ]ο ὁ ἱεροφάντης [τὴν κλίναν στρῶ]σαι τῶι Πλούτων[ι] καὶ τὴν τράπ[εζαν κοσμῆσαι] κατὰ τὴν μα[ν]τείαν τοῦ [θεοῦ]*, and the Eumolpidai took care of his shrine (IG II^2 1231, lines 6–7): *[καὶ] τὸ το[ῦ] Πλούτωνος ἱερ[ὸν καλῶς ἐκ]|όσμη|σεν.* Plouton was also connected with the secret ritual celebrated by the women at the Thesmophoria, as the Scholiast to Lucian indicates (passage preceding that which is quoted *supra* 33): *ἤγετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν μυθωδέστερον λόγον ὅτι ἀνθολογοῦσα ἡρπάζετο ἡ Κόρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, τότε κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον Εὐβουλεύς τις συβώτης ἔνεμεν ὗς καὶ συγκατεπόθησαν τῷ χάσματι τῆς Κόρης, εἰς οὖν τιμὴν τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ῥιπτεῖσθαι τοὺς χοίρους εἰς τὰ χάσματα τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης.* Hence the presence of his Priestess when the women approached the *μέγαρον*, closely associated with his abduction of Kore, is not surprising. Moreover, among those invoked at the Thesmophoria (Aristoph. Thesm. 295) was Ploutos, with whom he was often indentified and confused.

The presence of the Priestess of Plouton at the festival seems to be an indication that it was a local celebration of the Thesmophoria and not the city one. Such local celebrations are known from the Peiraieus (IG II^2 1177) and from Halimous (Schol. Aristoph. Thesm. 80: *δεκάτῃ ἐν Ἁλιμοῦντι Θεσμοφόρια ἄγεται*), and probably took place in other places as well, especially at Eleusis, with the cults of which the festival was concerned. The presence of the two Priestesses without any male personnel in these lines is accounted for by the fact that the Thesmophoria was a festival of women.

No numeral is recorded for the Priestess of Plouton; accordingly, her activity must carry over into the following lines. These

lines have been a source of much difficulty to the commentators. Ziehen and Dittenberger make no attempt to restore them. Hiller von Gaertringen (SIG^3 1038) restores [*βωμὸν*] *στ*[*ο*]*λ*[*ί*]*σας*, which must mean "to make ready the altar"; but it does not fit in with the traces of letters on the stone (*cf.* the Commentary on Readings *supra* 9), and does not give correct grammar, since the participle should be dative, in agreement with the Priestess of the previous line. Instead, [*εἰς ἑ*]*στιάσας*, "for the banquets to the Thesmophorian deities", can be suggested. Ἑστίασις is a regular word for a "banquet" in several authors (Thuc. 6.46, Pl. Resp. 612a, Arist. Pol. 6.7.6, and in inscriptions, e.g. the decree of the Iobakkhoi of A.D. ca. 178, IG II^2 1365 lines 105–106, where the context will permit a sacred banquet). The plural number of the present Calendar may well be accounted for by the fact that the deities of the Thesmophoria each received a separate banquet, which may be reflected in the dual number of the deities. The restoration of [*εἰς*] meets the requirements of grammar and provides a construction used frequently in the Calendar (cf. lines 5, 23, and 27). The name of the deities fills the end of this line and is carried over to line 26, and there is room for a numeral in the margin of line 26 to provide the Priestess with the cost of the banquets.

In line 26 *καί* should probably be restored before *κανοῦν*. The ritual basket is a common object of cult in the worship of Demeter (e.g. IG II^2 1672, line 116). Deubner (p. 51) points out that the symbolic figure for the festival of the Thesmophoria on the relief calendar of Hagios Eleutherios is a young woman bearing a bundle on her head. The sacred basket probably contained the remains brought up from the *megaron* to be mixed with the seed corn at the festival of the Thesmophoria.

Line 27. The present text uses *εἰς* in lines 5, 23, and [25] "for" an *ariston*, *apometra*, and banquets. In each of these instances it could mean, but need not, "toward (the cost of)"; rather, it seems to mean "for (the whole cost of)." At the end of line 27, *ε*[*ἰς τἄλλα*] is the usual phrase (e.g. the Salaminioi Calendar, Hesp 1935.5, line 88 etc.), and would naturally mean "toward (the cost of)" the accessories, because they were various — condiments, wine, bread, cakes, fruit, and/or other things — and some

doubtless would often be provided in kind by officials and other interested persons. In the present line 27, εὶ̣]ς could be restored; if it were correct, it would mean "toward (the cost of)" the wood.

There is no other instance known to us in any Calendar of εὶ̣ς with ξύλα; ξύλα is preceded by no word at all; as if marked in contrast, the rest of the phrase is regularly καὶ εὶ̣ς τἄλλα. Moreover although line 27 is crowded and is longer than any other, a one-half-space vacat occurs after the sigma, so that εὶ̣]ς ν ξύλα would be irrational. In the third place, no victim is in sight: the piglings of line 22, tossed into the *megaron*, required no wood, and to postpone to line 27 wood for a victim — *if* any — in line 20 or earlier might well seem unclear and unnatural. For these reasons we suggest that a deity and an animal are the correct restoration. — Line 27 is doubtless the end of the panel.

Lines 33–41. Since Column II comes to an end somewhere before line 27, it seems therefore that the entries of lines 33–41 should represent the end of the year, viz. the month of Skirophorion. On the 12th of Skirophorion there was a festival of Demeter and Kore, the Skira, which gave the month its name: *Σκίρα ἑορτή ἐστι τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς, Σκιροφοριῶνος ιβ′. οἱ δὲ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, κτλ.* (Schol. Aristoph. Eccl. 18). From the Peiraieus decree (IG II^2 1177), where the Skira is listed among the Demeter festivals concerned with the *μέγαρον*, and the Lucian Scholion on the Thesmophoria, where the Skira are also mentioned, we know that it was closely connected with the Thesmophoria. It is often coupled with the latter as an occasion for expenses for women: Men. Epit. 36, 13 ed. Jensen: *Θεσμοφόρια δὶς τίθει, Σκίρα δίς*, and Aristoph. Thesm. 834: *προεδρίαν τ᾽ αὐτῇ δίδοσθαι Στηνίοισι καὶ Σκίροις.* (The Stenia formed the opening day of the Thesmophoria at this time.) Hence, it is likely that the Skira were entered in the Eleusinian calendar as well as the Thesmophoria. An entry *πρὸ Σκίρων* also occurs in the Marathonian Tetrapolis Calendar (IG II^2 1358 b, lines 30–33, 51–53), marking another local celebration.

There is some confusion in the lexicographers, however, as to whether the festival belonged properly to Demeter and Kore or to Athena, who bears the epithet Skiras (Schol. Aristoph. Thesm. 834; cf. also Steph. Byz s.v. and Schol. Aristoph. Eccl. cited *supra*): — *τὰ δὲ Σκίρα λέγεσθαί φασί τινες τὰ γινόμενα ἱερὰ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ θύεται τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ.* This is explained by the fact the festival included as an essential part a procession in which the Priestess of Athena Polias and the Priest of Poseidon took part. The procession went from the Akropolis to Skiron for the purpose of offering a sacrifice there to Athena (Skiron, as has been mentioned, was the scene of a ritual ploughing like that of the Rharian field): Harp. s.v. *Σκίρον: ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἴς τινα τόπον καλούμενον Σκῖρον πορεύονται ἥ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερεύς, κτλ.* This

sacrifice, however, almost certainly took place at a shrine of Demeter and Kore there, where Athena and Poseidon were also worshipped: Paus. 1.37.2: *ἔστι δὲ . . . καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν καὶ τῆς παιδός· σὺν δέ σφισιν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔχουσι τιμάς*. Thus, the four deities involved in the festival are united in the temple of Demeter at the ancient boundary of Eleusis and Athens, and the priority of the former in the festival of the Skira can be clearly seen. Moreover, the use of the *δῖον κῴδιον* in this procession points in the same direction, since it too was strongly connected with Eleusinian worship (Suid *s.* *Διὸς κῳδίοις*): *χρῶνται δ'αὐτοῖς* (sc. *τοῖς δίοις κῳδίοις*) *οἵ τε Σκιροφορίων τὴν πομπὴν στέλλοντες καὶ ὁ δᾳδοῦχος ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι*. Finally, Poseidon was also specially worshipped in the circle of Eleusinian deities (cf. IG I^2 5), and had a shrine near the sacred enclosure at Eleusis under the cult title *Ποσειδῶν Πατήρ* (Paus. 1.38.6). In line 37 of the present Calendar he appears as the recipient of offerings.

Accordingly, the physical disposition of the Calendar, together with the known details about the festival of the Skira, and the presence of Poseidon in line 37, yield a certain degree of probability that the lines contained a panel dealing with the Skira. The individual entries of the panel, however, are much less certain.

Line 34. It would be tempting to connect the initial sigma with Skira, but the reading is far from certain. The numeral indicates a victim, but it is probable that it also covers the cost of all the items through line 39, as is the case for the entry of Dr 20 in the panel of the Pyanopsia.

Line 35. Probably *ἱερ̣[εῖ]* or *ἱερ̣[οφάντηι]*, i.e. personnel rather than victim; the victim should have appeared in the previous line.

Line 36. *Ποσ[ειδῶνι]* seems certain. Ziehen's suggestion (Leg. Sac. II p. 32), that it could also be the month *Ποσειδεῶνος* cannot be correct, since an offering, and not a new day-rubric, follows in line 38.

Line 38. The *πέλανος* is a non-bloody offering. It is a sort of gruel made from barley and wheat mixed together with honey

(cf. Pl. Leg. 6.782c and Suid., Phot, Harp. s.v.), and was burned, rather than placed on the altar (Schol. Aristoph. Plut 661). It was widely used in Eleusinian worship, where it was made from the grain of the *aparkhe* reserved for the Goddesses (IG I^2 76, line 35; IG II^2 1672, lines 280, 284). IG II^2 140, line 19 (cf. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées* [1962] p. 35), suggests that πέλανος could also designate a portion of the sacred grain of the *aparkhe* reserved for the Eumolpidai from which they were to offer the πέλανος proper. From this usage there developed a secondary meaning, viz. some sort of emolument for the Eumolpidai, since presumably only a portion of the grain so reserved would be used for making the ritual potation as is suggested by the partitive nature of ἀπό and the genitive. Moreover, the records of the Epistatai of Eleusis, IG II^2 1672, lines 289–290, record a πέλανος of Drs 49⅓ offered to the Priest of Hippothoön at Eleusis. Here the secondary meaning of an emolument is clear, as the numeral indicates. Finally, the word was also used for a kind of fee or cult tax offered before consulting the oracle, as a series of inscriptions from Amorgos and Delphi testify (*cf.* P. Stengel, Opferbräuche der Griechen, p. 72, and P. Amandry, BCH 1939, pp. 86ff., republished by Sokolowski, Lois sacrées [1962] pp. 83–85). This meaning is also given by Hesykhios s.v. πέλανος· καὶ ὁ τῷ μάντει διδύμενος ὀβολός. In the present inscription, it would be tempting to surmise that πέλανος is used in the secondary meaning of emolument or fee, since it seems to be repeated in line 39 (cf. Commentary on Readings *supra*). But the absence of any numeral is decisive, and πέλανος must be used in its original meaning of an offering of sacred gruel. — For further references and important extensions of the meaning, see M. H. Jameson, AJP 1956. 55–60.

Line 40. Perhaps a new date was inscribed here, since the Dr 20 of line 41 appear to begin a new panel.

THE DOCUMENT AS A WHOLE

Contents and Extent of the Inscription. Hitherto no attempt has been made to reconstruct the form of the whole. We now know, however, that the entries for Pyanopsion were in Col. I and occupied at the very least thirty lines, quite possibly forty or more lines. We know also that Col. II ended before the end of Col. I.

Three possibilities may be considered:

1. The original was limited entirely to Pyanopsion. Its thickness, however, suggests a much greater height than this would imply. A short squat stele would be most unusual.

2. The original contained all twelve months, with entries of normal size for each. This would necessitate some four months to a column, and thus three columns. To this there is no fatal objection, but it prevents any connection of lines 33–41 with the Skira.

3. The original contained all twelve months, but the content of the inscription is not that of a normal calendar, so that for months when the Eleusinian cult officials were not involved, entries would be few or completely lacking. This being so, two columns sufficed, with four months in the first (assuming we have the last line of Col. I, which is plausible), and then eight months in the shorter Col. II — shorter because there was little or no cult activity at Eleusis in the winter. This scheme suits all the indications of the fragments. The preserved letters of Col. II, coming from near its end, can be connected with the Skira.

The Festivals of the Eleusinian Year. To test the implications of this reconstruction (3, *supra*), i.e. to discover what is involved if the first four months contained entries somewhat more lengthy in total than the last eight months, it is necessary to tabulate the festivals likely to have had entries. The last attempt to lay out *der eleusinische Opferkalender* is that of H. G. Pringsheim, Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults (1905) 101–116. This is the basis for what follows. In addition to what has been given *supra*, we add:

Hekatombaion: the Synoikismos in Athens. Eleusis, probably the most important and the final area to be added, would almost certainly have been officially represented in Athens.

Hekatombaion: the Panathenaia in Athens. Similarly, the Deme would have sent representatives.

Thargelion: the Thargelia in Athens. Sokolowski, Lois sacrées (1962) no. 14, quoted *supra* 22, 30.

Adding these to Pringsheim's list (for references see his discussion), we have the following general arrangement of the present Calendar, all celebrations being in Eleusis unless otherwise noted:

SCHEMATIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ELEUSINIAN SACRED CALENDAR

Column I	Column II
Hekatombaion:	(Maimakterion: no entry)
[Synoikismos in Athens]	
[Panathenaia in Athens]	Poseidon:
	Haloa
Metageitnion:	Gamelion:
Eleusinia	Sacrifice for Deaira
	Bloodless sacrifice for Demeter, Kore, Plouton
Boedromion:	
Prorresis in Athens	
Prothyma in Athens	Lenaia
Mysteries	
Pyanopsion:	Anthesterion:
Prorresis in Athens	Khoa
Proerosia	Khloia
Pyanopsia in Athens	
Thesmophoria	(Elaphebolion: no entry)
	Mounikhion:
	Kalamaia
	Thargelion:
	Thargelia in Athens
	Skirophorion:
	Skira

Doubtless this is incomplete, and the fact that the number of entries is almost equal (10–9) in the two columns does not signify. In Column II the first two sacrifices under Gamelion would probably take very little space. For the other seven, probably the preserved lines for the Pyanopsia and the Skira give some indication: a series of entries of the order of ten or a dozen lines each. In Column I, similarly, the six festivals in Athens did not need long entries. But the Eleusinia and the Mysteries overshadowed all else at Eleusis; in what is left of the State Calendar, the Eleusinia have far the longest entry, although neither beginning nor end is preserved (Hesp 1935. 21. 60–86). There need be no doubt that for these two festivals the specifications were numerous and elaborate, and the expenditure considerable. About the discrepancy between the two columns in the numbers of months there need be no misgivings.

The Significance of the Present Calendar. But the present Calendar was by no means a complete list of all the sacrifices at the Eleusinian festivals. The character of the present Calendar is perhaps clearest from the two panels of lines 1–7, in that they lack mention of any deity or sacrifice or other such detail. Instead they have the appearance of a supplement to some extensive Calendar, which provided the full complement of sacrifices, etc., for the Proerosia. The extensive Calendar would involve many victims and deities, large expenditures, elaborate lists. All that was provided for, of course, in the State Calendar, most recently revised by Nikomakhos in 411/0–400/399 B.C.

The present Calendar is markedly different. In three panels actual sacrifices are provided, but they are small, probably all single victims. On the other hand, funds are provided to pay for the Hierophantes and Hierokeryx to go to Athens; for various petty extras at the Pyanopsia; and apometra of Dr 10 are specified at the Thesmophoria, along with something for the two Thesmophoroi and to pay for various extras. The present Calendar is certainly not a revision of even a part of the State Code: to revise it was not in the power of Eleusis. The suggestion is rather that it is later and is a supplement; and that it was drawn up and adopted by Eleusis for the benefit of Eleusinians.

If this is so (of course it must be tested), why was the supplement felt to be necessary? The answer can hardly be doubtful. The Calendar was adopted in view of a change. Providing as it does for extras and for small payments to persons, the Calendar substitutes payment by the deme of Eleusis for payment by private persons. Once the Gennetai, including in early times the Kings themselves of Eleusis and perhaps some other rich persons, bore all these lesser, mostly personal expenses. Now, whether or not the Gennetai are able, and whether or not they are willing, the Deme will pay instead. The Calendar signalizes the change.

The officials, at least the Hierophantes, and virtually the Hierokeryx, are the same in title. Nor is it imaginable that they were chosen from any groups except the Gene which had always provided them. There is no indication of any extensive "democratization," i.e. of opening up to all citizens, including the most humble, these august offices. Hence we may infer that the Gennetai had complained that they could no longer foot the bills. From what we have, viz. a total of Dr 71½, the bills appear not to be large; but we have less than one full month. The total for the whole year may have been a considerable sum.

The supplemental character of the Calendar thus helps to disclose the reason for its existence. The date also accords. In the Fourth Century the rich were so reduced that *leitourgiai* of all sorts had to be modified. Best known is the system of *symmoriai* for the *trierarkhiai*. It so happens that the remarkable Sacred Calendar of Erkhia, of which the text and commentary have now been handsomely published by G. Daux, BCH 1963.603–634, much more clearly discloses the same forces at work, and by a similar solution, although the date is earlier (ca. 360–350 B.C.), the Deme Erkhia takes over much of the festivals (S. Dow, BCH 1965 forthcoming). Doubtless at Eleusis also we have, though in some perhaps restricted sense, ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΑ Η ΜΕΖΩΝ (line 1 of the Erkhia inscription), viz. the greater authority of the Deme as it assumes the burdens formerly carried by private citizens.

Payments and Personnel, Earlier and Later. This is not the place, even if we were able, to enter into an extended discussion of the history of the control of the Mysteries. Perquisites and

other financial matters are dealt with in one of the earliest Eleusinian documents, IG I^2 6, re-edited by B.D. Meritt and in lines 20–46 by F. Sokolowski (HTR 1959. 1–7, with references). For present purposes it is more relevant that the decree of the Nomothetai, IG II^2 140 of 353/2 B.C., has been taken to indicate a transfer of authority, with regard to income, etc., at the Eleusinia, from a mixed commission, made up of Eleusinians and non-Eleusinian Athenians, to the Athenian Boule of 500 (Sokolowski, Lois sacrées [1962], p. 35). If this is correct, and if something similar was enacted in respect to other festivals, then the present Calendar seeks to regularize (and perhaps to reduce) those more limited obligations, especially in regard to Eleusinian personnel, which remained in the hands of the Eleusinians.

From a later period there is more to be added. J. H. Oliver, Hesp 1952.381–399, published a new text of IG II^2 1092, using the excellent photographs of S. N. Dragoumes, ArkhEph 1900 between cols. 72 and 73. Oliver established the date as A.D. ca. 165, and re-interpreted the whole as provisions for the dispensation of surplus funds from the bequest of a certain donor. The donor, or more likely his living representative, was one Flavius Xenion, identified for the first time with a known Cretan; he had received Athenian citizenship, membership in the Eumolpidai, and the honor of initiation into the Mysteries for his son. The treatment by Oliver of these matters seems to us convincing throughout.

The Eleusinian officials (a broadly inclusive group, *infra*) are to receive 12 unworn (i.e. full value) drakhmai per share; about half of the ca. 29 officials receive two shares each. There is no mention of cult expenses, and it may be that all of the cult expenses were taken care of otherwise, so that the cult officials could pocket the money provided by the endowment. But it is equally possible that the old needs persisted, and that provision was being made to relieve the officials of the same burdensome charges which the Deme had met earlier, as provided for in the lex sacra re-edited *supra*.

In any case, the document of A.D. ca. 165 gives us, as Oliver rightly emphasized, a complete or nearly complete list of the important cult officials, in order of precedence. Of the ones

mentioned, all of the old and well-known officials are present. Of the less well-known officials in the text re-edited *supra*, the Priestesses are surely to be identified *either* with the two Hierophantides of line 54, or with the two Priestesses — the names of their deities are only partly preserved — who follow them in the next two lines. As between these two pairs, there is no really decisive factor, but (1) the two uncertain cults appear to be minor cults, and the two Priestesses in question are ranked below the two Hierophantides; and (2) the title itself suggests that the Hierophantides accompanied and assisted the Hierophantes.

Altogether lacking in the list of A.D. ca. 165 is our (line 24) Priestess of Plouton. There is no obvious explanation. The end of the list, in Col. III, is missing, but the first two entries are different enough to discourage the idea that any missing Priestess was inscribed there.

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All entries are in one alphabet. Words that occur in the Greek text, and some others, are entered in Greek, but the alphabet is in the Latin order of direct transliteration, with κ under k, ξ under x, χ under kh, ψ under ps, ω under o; rough breathings are disregarded.

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ὕφασμα, sacred garment, gloss on *προτόνιον*, for *προγόνιον*?: 25
ὑφασμάτιον, sacred garment, gloss on *προγόνιον*: 25
Vanderpool, E.: 2
vase, Attic red-figured, illustrating Thesmophoria: 33
vestments, in Greek cult: 27; see *s.vv. ἐπικράνιον, ἐσθής, ἱμάτιον, κόθορνοι, προγόνιον, στολή, στρόφιον, χίτων, χλαῖναι, χλαμύς, φᾶρος*
victims, for sacrifice: 11; see also *αἶξ, οἶς*, piglet; Epheboi handle, at Proerosia: 17; offerings with: 24–25; woollen garment placed on at sacri-

fice by Priestess: 25; the *progonion* not one: 26; to be restored in line 27: 38; not to be restored in line 35: 40; small, in present Calendar: 45; provided in large number by State Calendar: 45

Wilhelm, A.: 4
wine, offered with victims: 24
wood: see ξύλον
Woodward, A. M.: 1
Wycherley, R. E.: 15

Xenion, Flavius: see Flavius Xenion
ξύλον: ξύλα, accusative plural: text line 27; without article: 10; not used with εἰς in sacred calendars: 38

Zeus, sacrifices to, at Plerosia, in Myrrhinous: 16
Ziehen, L.: 1, 4, 13, 14, 16, 23–24, 25, 28, 29, 37, 40

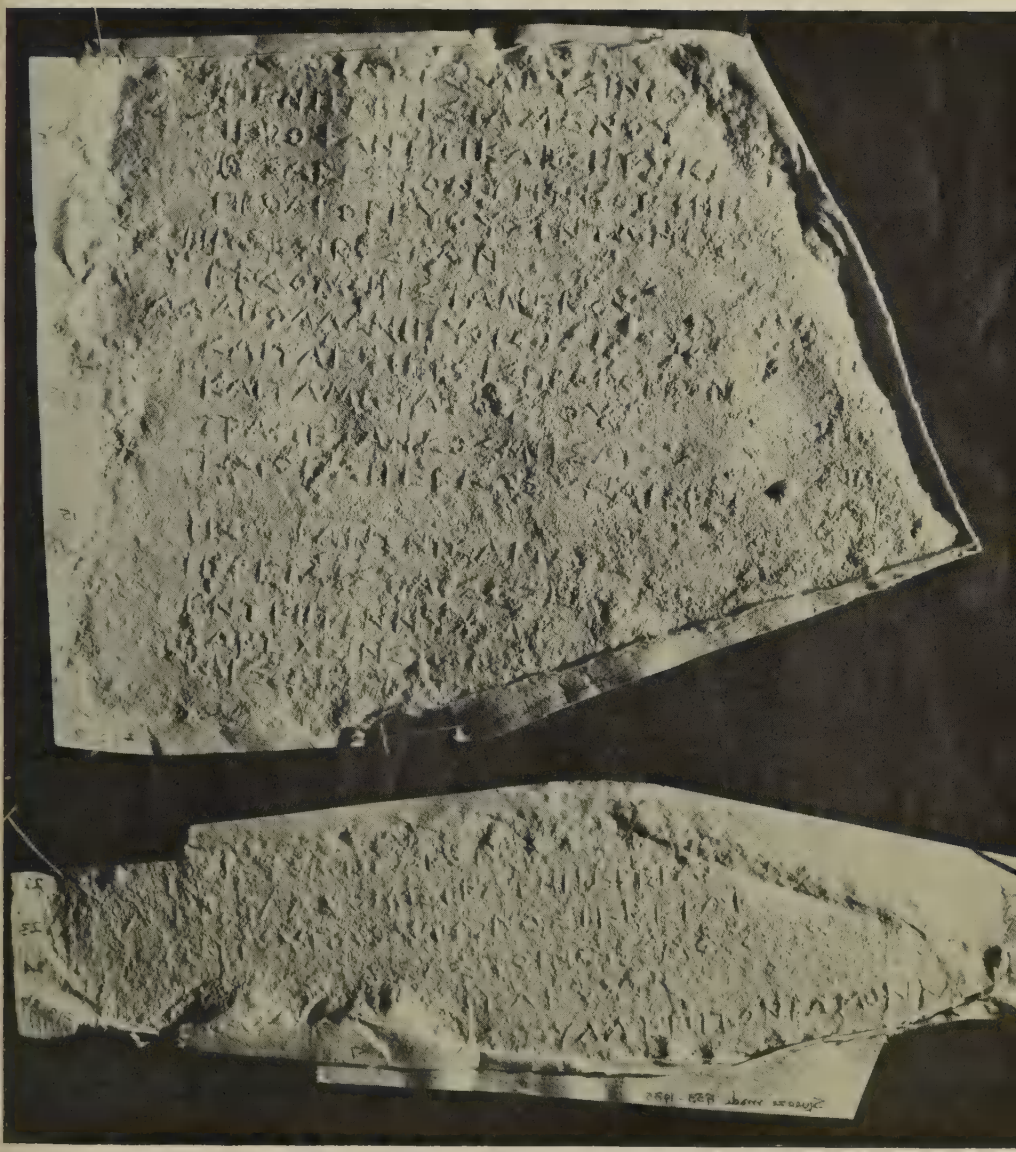

Plate I. The Eleusinian Calendar *IG* II² 1363: Frag. A above, Frag. B below. Squeezes made in ca. 1933. Scale 1:2

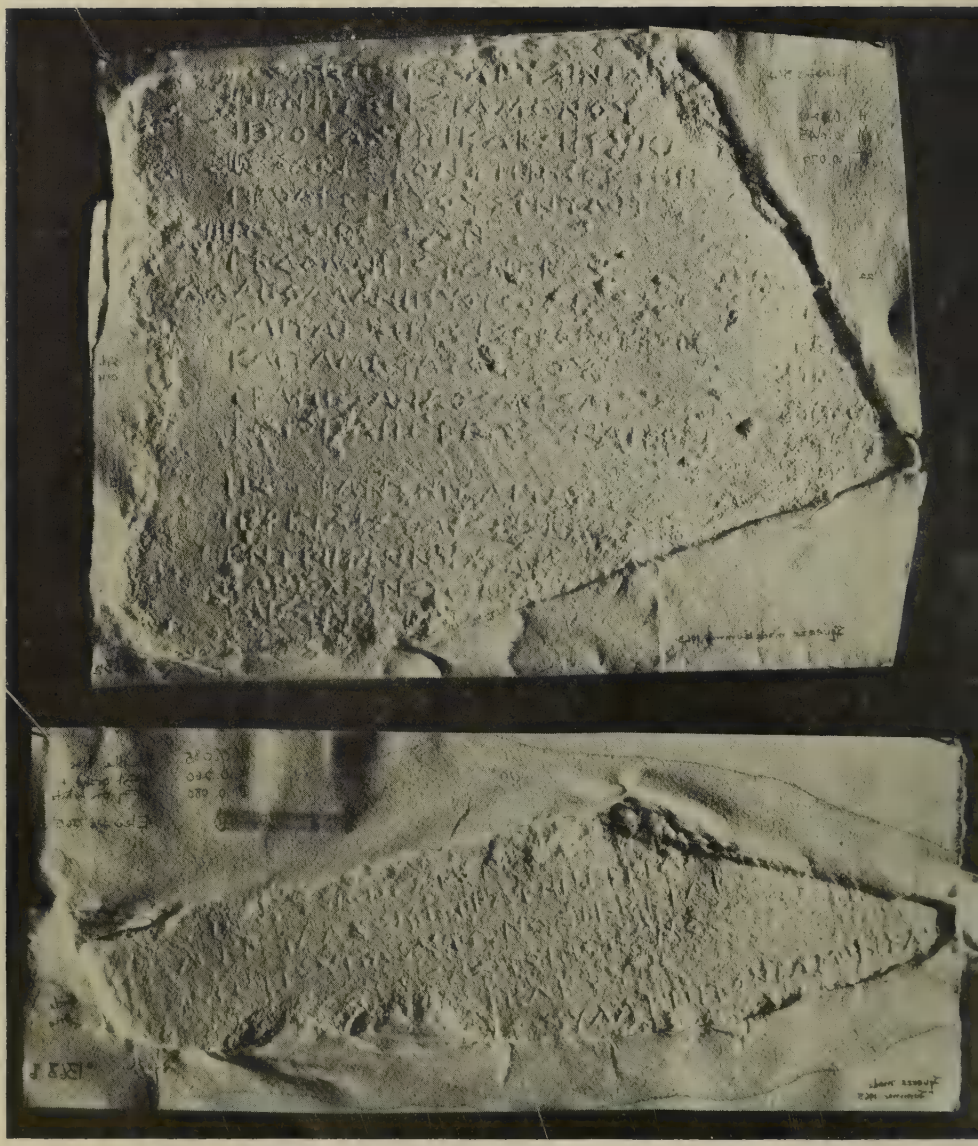

Plate II. The Eleusinian Calendar *IG* II² 1363: Frag. A above, Frag. B below. Squeezes made in 1963. Scale ca. 1:2

IG II² 1363, NEW TEXT

ca. 330 – ca. 270 B.C.

Not stoikhedon

Column I

Column II

Fragment A

(Missing: an uncertain number of lines, including the month-rubric [ΠΥΑΝΟΨΙΩΝΟΣ], and at least one day-rubric:

[----------]

[τετράδι ἱσταμένου]

[----------]

1 [--.---------]ΟΞ[Ι]Δ[--]

[--³] ≋[1½ 2³ -]οιν εἰς Ἐλευσίνιον

πέμπτει ἱσταμένου

ἱεροφάντηι καὶ κήρυκι

5 ε[ἰ]ς ἄριστον τὴν ἑορτὴν

προαγορεύουσιν τῶν

[ν]ΗΙΙΙ Προηροσίων

(Missing: whatever entries were made for the seven months Maimakterion through Thargelion. Then under ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝΟΣ an unknown number of lines, viz. the entries, if any, for 1-11 Skirophorion, and)

(28-30)[----------]

[δωδεκάτει]

[----------]

33 Γ''''[----------]

ἑβδόμει ἱσταμένου ΔΔ Ϟ[- - - - - - - - - - - -]

ΔΔ Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίωι ⟨α⟩ἴξ 35 ἱερ̣[- - - - - - - - - - -]

καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς, προγόνιον τελ[- - - - - - - - - - -]

καὶ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτου, Ποσ[ειδῶνι - - - - - -]

τράπεζαν κοσμῆσαι πελα[νὸς - - - - - - - -]

τῶι θεῶι, ἱερεώσυνα ἱερεῖ [vac?] τ̣ελ[?ανὸς? - - - - -]

[[ca. 15½ (+?) letters erased]] 40 Τ̣[- - - -date?- - - - -]

ἱε[ρ]οφάντηι καὶ τα[ῖ]ς ΔΔ̣[- - - - - - - - - - - -]

ἱερείαις ταῖς ἐξ Ἐλ[ε]υσῖ[νος] (Missing: a few lines,

ἐν τεῖ παννυχίδι probably 8-12. Col. II

παρέχειν σπονδ[άς vacat] ended above Frag. B.)

ψαιστὰ κ̣α[1½-2]Ϟ[- - -]

[[- -]] [[- - - - line erased? - - - - -]]

[- -] [- - - - - - - - - - - - -]

(Missing: an uncertain number of lines, possibly few)

Fragment B

(One column only, Col. I, continued; Pyanopsion, continued)

(Half-space irregularities in the margin, reproduced here, are not significant.)

vac. πρὸς τὸ μέγαρον

Δ εἰς̣ τὰ ἀπόμετρα τῆι ἱερείαι

vac. τῆι τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερείαι vac.

vac. ε[ἰς ἑ]σ̣τ̣ι̣άσας τοῖν Θεσμο. vac.

[-?][φόροιν -ca. 3-]Ϟ κανοῦν vac.

[ ][- - deity ca. 9 - - οἶ?]s ᵛ ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ ε̣[ἰς τ' ἄλλα

(Missing: an uncertain number of lines, probably none)

Sacred Calendar of Eleusis

Translation and Scheme

[Missing: the heading for the whole]

Column I

[Missing - entries covering
[Hekatombaion, Metageitnion,
[Boedromion]

Column II

[Missing: entries covering
[Maimakterion, Poseideon, Gamelion
[Anthesterion, Elaphebolion,
[Mounikhion, Thargelion]

Fragment A

[In the month of Pyanopsion]

(PROEROSIA)

[On the 4th]

[Uncertain number of lines missing]

2 [Dr-?] [-----] to the Eleusinion.

On the 5th

To the Hierophantes and the Herald
5 for a mid-day repast,
when they announce the festival
Dr 1½ of the Proerosia.

(PYANOPSIA)

On the 7th

Dr 20 To Apollo Pythios a goat
10 and the things for the sacred
function, a ritual apron
11 and the things that go with it,
to dress a table
13 for the god: an allowance
(? hieroosyna) to the Priest
14 [[line erased]]
15 To the Hierophantes and the
Priestesses from Eleusis,
at the night festival,
to furnish libations
and cakes [and other supplies]
20 [[ ]] [[Line erased (?)]]
[Dr-?] [one or more lines missing, possibly few]

[In the month of Skirophorion]

[Missing: entries if any
[for I-11 Skirophorion]

(SKIRA)

[On the 12th]

33 [
[
Dr 20 [
35 [
[
37 To Pos[eidon a -----]
ritual pota[tion] or emolument
ritual pot[ation] or emolument ?

40 [On the -th ?]

41 Dr 20 [

[A few lines missing
before the end of Column II,
i.e. the end of the Calendar.]

(None of Column II was
inscribed on Fragment B.)

Fragment B

(THESMOPHORIA) [On the (11th, 12th, or) 13th]

[Uncertain number of lines missing]

22 to the underground pit.

Dr 10 For the perquisite to the Priestess.

25 To the Priestess of Plouton
26 [Dr?-] [for] banquets in honor of the two Thesmo-
27 [Dr-] [phorian deities, and] a ritual basket.
[To ---------a sheep(?)] Wood for the altar and [the other accessories]

(Line 27 is the last line of Column I.)

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A sacred calendar of Eleusis.

93982

Dow...
Sacred...

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